THE NEW REPUBLIC

Protestants in Politics

The Editors

The Big School Scandal

Richard L. Strout

Foreign Policy and the Election

Charles Burton Marshall

An End to Self-Doubt

Barry Spacks

September 19, 1960, 25 cents

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. from Washington

Kennedy's Extemporizing

★ We traveled with Kennedy part of last week. Enthusiasm high, crowds adequate and candidate good and could be better. He is a glamorous, liberal figure who still doesn't husband his larynx. His ringing, high-pitched voice is something like FDR's but whereas flexible FDR could make an advance text sing with innuendo, raillery and indignation (and set a swarm of reporters suddenly underscoring a neglected line) Kennedy still distrusts prepared texts, and extemporizes, waving his right forefinger. This gains immediate rapport and power but slights the sophisticated arguments of great national policy. Kennedy blames "speech-writers," but the prepared speech for the Labor Day rally in Detroit which he virtually threw away was first-rate and spelled out the economic basis of the Democratic platform. Perhaps he will never learn to "read" a speech; some don't. On the whole, however, Kennedy is a powerful figure; we think you have something in store if you haven't heard him.

Dr. Poling to Dr. Peale

★ In 1951 when scandal-ridden Philadelphia was about to shake off 67 years of Republican rule GOP bosses desperately nominated the Rev. Daniel A. Poling, Baptist minister and editor, to try to block the young Democratic reform candidate for mayor, Joe Clark (now Senator). Poling, 76, who does not refer to this unhappy episode in *Who's Who*, deserves well of his country. His son was one of four chaplains drowned together in World War II, to whom the "Chapel of the Four Chaplains" was later dedicated.

Young Jack Kennedy first accepted and then, at the request of the Philadelphia Catholic Archdiocese, withdrew from participation in this dedication. The episode illustrates how hard the church makes it for its communicants. Kennedy says he would have eagerly taken part in the joint ceremonial if invited as a veteran or a public official. But he was invited specifically as a Catholic and felt he had no alternative when the Archdiocese said "No."

Last week Poling, with 150 Protestant ministers and laymen, helped set up here "Citizens for Religious Freedom." The Rev. Norman Vincent Peale, celebrated inspirationalist who fought the New Deal and a third term for FDR, was another founder. They issued a statement saying, in effect, that while Kennedy is nice enough he is a Catholic and hence unsuitable for the Presidency.

Now Americans have a perfect right, of course, to decide themselves on such matters, but we are certainly getting a queer mixture of politics and religion these days. Rabid anti-Catholic forgeries are pouring out. Only the other day the press tracked down a respectable Kentucky Baptist pastor who had used a twisted quotation from Jefferson, to the office of GOP chairman Morton. The estimable divine was registered at the hotel suite maintained here by the Texas Gas Transmission Co.

Our office boy, or somebody, has left the following doggerel on our desk:

"The Pope, the White House seeks to steal,"
Cried Dr. Poling to Dr. Peale.
"For Heaven's sake, get Nixon rolling!"
Cried Dr. Peale to Dr. Poling.

Hard Put President

★ Every nation needs a hero, every nation needs a myth, every nation needs an occasional success. The United States has been battered around so much it is getting jittery. There wasn't much to be proud about in the U-2 episode or in Powers' subsequent behavior in Moscow; the Soviets beat us in space and in the Olympics; Cuba and the Congo and the mob in Tokyo thumb noses at us, a recession is coming on and Khrushchev lands here next week to strut at our expense. If one could feel that Eisenhower would act as adequate spokesman for all of us! But Eisenhower takes the position that he won't debase the UN by making it a forum for invective (just as he formerly said he "would not roll in the gutter" with McCarthy). One recalls the President's July 25, 1957, press conference, describing his difficulties in defending democracy with Soviet Marshal Zhukov in Berlin after 1945: "I was very hard put to it when he insisted that [the Communist] system appealed to the idealistic, and we completely to the materialistic, and I had a very tough time trying to defend our position."

The Cry of Betrayal

★ With weak leadership at the top a nation tends to witch-hunts. Just as we had finished reading the provocative article on Cuba last week in this magazine we got the report from Senators Eastland (D, Miss.) and Dodd (D, Conn.) of the Security Subcommittee, charging that "Cuba was handed to Castro and the Communists by a combination of Americans in the same way that China was handed to the Communists." It was all due to a mysterious conspiracy within the lower echelons of the State Department, according to former ambassadors to Havana, Earl Smith and Arthur Gardner, testifying before the Eastland committee. Once more rises the familiar cry of "betrayal" and "purge."

Over on the House side, meanwhile, two hearings begin into the defection to Moscow of the two cryptograph experts from the National Security Agency. This is a wonderful chance for witch-hunter Walter (D, Pa.), head of the Un-American Activities Committee (which corresponds to the Eastland committee of the Senate).

The funny thing in this case is that the House leadership is trying to head off Walter by jumping in with an earlier inquiry in the more responsible hands of Representative Kilday (D, Tex.) of the Armed Services Committee. The House votes half a million or so annually to Walter because they are afraid of him, but wherever it is possible they try to let somebody else carry the ball.

We have always liked spry, bachelor Senator Green (D, R.I.), who at 93 has just retired. "And how does it seem to be 93?" gushed a woman to him recently on a reception line. "Well, considering the alternative," observed the Senator twinkling, "it feels fine."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion; Volume 143 Number 13 Issue 2393 September 19, 1960*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address Copyright© 1960, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc. Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C.*

Protestants in Politics

THE WEEK

3. Protestants in Politics; Eisenhower to the Bullpen; Africa and the Cold War

ARTICLES

7. De Gaulle Alone
by Denis Healey
8. The Vulnerability of West Berlin
by Terence Prittie
10. The Superficial Aspect
by Gerald W. Johnson
11. The Big School Scandal
by Richard L. Strout
13. Foreign Policy and the Election
by Charles Burton Marshall

DEPARTMENTS

16. Books *20. Movies* *21. Art*
22. Correspondence

THE STAFF

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor & Publisher
Helen Fuller, Managing Editor
Selig S. Harrison, Associate Editor
Robert Evett, Books & the Arts Editor
F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors:
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann Helen Hill Miller, Howard Simons, Michael Straight

Last week, after writing the Vice President that he had asked God to help Mr. Nixon recover from his knee injury, Norman Vincent Peale came to Washington to lead a conference of 150 Protestant ministers and laymen on "the political aspects of Roman Catholicism." The conference issued a statement that said the religion of Senator Kennedy is "one of the most significant issues" of this campaign because, whatever the Senator himself might say, "his church insists that he is duty-bound to admit to its direction."

Now, Dr. Peale is not Protestantism, for no one is, but he generates some of its most saleable popular gospel on social as well as religious matters from his pulpit on Fifth Avenue and the offices of his publishers nearby. Thus when he comes out for a political candidate, Nixon in this case, and then turns up at a meeting organized to rally Protestant opposition to Mr. Nixon's Roman Catholic opponent, the "religious issue" grows from Southern fundamentalist dimensions to something more sophisticated and national. Indeed, one might easily assume that an irresistible tide of honest Protestant anxiety was now likely to swamp the Kennedy candidacy.

Without minimizing the ominous potential of the Washington meeting, one finds on investigation more of a ripple than a tide, and quite as much GOP politicking as honest religious conviction. Though the meeting was closed to the press and requests for a list of those attending have been refused, enough can be established to indicate the relatively limited scope of the gathering. For example, the Rev. George Docherty of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in Washington, who delivered the invocation, told this journal that half of those present were Baptists of some seven or eight denominations and that the balance included precisely three Presbyterians, two Methodists, and no Episcopalians. What the conference did was to bring together, as Dr. Peale observed, some of the leaders of "the evangelical, conservative Protestants" who are organized primarily in the National Association of Evangelicals (2.5 million in member congregations and denominations) and who have been arrayed for 17 years against the National Council of Churches (39 million in its constituent denominations) on matters both of theological doctrine and "Christian Witness" or social action. (Liberal theologians such as Dr. John C. Bennett, Dean of Union Theological Seminary, have been described in its publication, *United Evangelical Action*, as crypto-Communists.) The executive director of the Evangelicals, a 32-year-old Baptist Minister

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

named Donald Gill, was given a leave of absence well ahead of time to handle the organizing and to run the newly-founded Citizens for Religious Freedom. Who else may have been behind the project and paid for it he has not divulged, but the affair seemed thoroughly Republican to Dr. Docherty, who had apparently been invited to provide a Presbyterian façade; he made clear to reporters, on a rueful morning after, that he was a Democrat and supported Kennedy. One Washington newsman mingling in the corridors found the first person he accosted to be an Indiana radio chain operator. Highly reliable sources have linked the sponsorship of the conference with such prominent Republican personalities as J. Howard Pew of the Philadelphia, Sun Oil Company Pews, who backs *Christianity Today* (edited by L. Nelson Bell, Billy Graham's father-in-law and one of the conference speakers) and who in the words of Reinhold Niebuhr, "combines piety with right-wing Republicanism in a most remarkable way."

As for the statement released by the conference in Washington, the gist of its message is that we ought to apply a double standard to candidates running for the Presidency. One standard would apply to anyone who is not a Roman Catholic, the other standard just to Roman Catholics. This double standard for judging the qualifications of men for public office has long been a national disease, but it had been hoped that in 1960 the infection would prove localized. The hope turns out to have been most unrealistic: though the intensity of the fever remains to be measured, the malady is in the national bloodstream and infects New Yorkers as well as Texans, Jews as well as Protestants (though, to their credit, no conference of Jews has helped circulate the poison and the New York Board of Rabbis has condemned "block voting for or against a particular church affiliation"). It lies dormant in the rich as well as the poor, the uneducated as well as the educated. It affects believers and non-believers. But one characteristic is almost always observable—unfamiliarity with the totality of Catholic doctrine, spirit and practice, and a tendency to view Roman Catholics of whom one approves as "exceptional," or perhaps not even "good" Catholics. Few of those afflicted seem aware that, as Dr. Bennett points out in the latest *Christianity and Crisis*, "there is a strong body of Catholic teaching that is on the side of . . . liberal and democratic convictions in regard to the civil order," and that a Catholic President who is a liberal Democrat could, with a clear conscience, offer more effective resistance to pressures from within the hierarchy than many non-Catholic office-holders. "A Catholic who knows his way around in his church," argues Dr. Bennett, "might well be better able to handle these pressures . . . because he would be better able to measure the degree of authority behind them."

The Peale statement begins by granting that "persons who are of the Roman Catholic faith can be just as honest, patriotic and public spirited as those of any other faith." Not very much further along in the statement, however, the signers find it "inconceivable" that a Roman Catholic President "would not be under extreme pressure by the hierarchy of his church to accede to its policies with respect to foreign relations in matters, including representation of the Vatican." The clear implication here is that not only would he be under "extreme pressure," but that insofar as he is a good Catholic he would accede to these pressures.

Senator Kennedy Confuses

The statement is a model of propagandistic sleight of hand. It says that "spokesmen for the Vatican in the United States have repeatedly urged the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Roman Catholic Church." It says nothing, however, about the fact that Mr. Kennedy has repeatedly stated that he does not favor the establishment of such diplomatic relations, and that, on the contrary, Harry S. Truman, a "good" Baptist, and Episcopalian Franklin D. Roosevelt have favored the establishment of such relations.

"Binding upon him [Senator Kennedy] as well as upon all members of his Church, is the belief that Protestant faiths are heretical and counterfeit and that they have no theoretical right to exist." How inconvenient and confusing when Senator Kennedy says, as he did on September 9, that he does *not* consider Protestants as heretics!

Similarly the statement asserts that "under the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church a President of this faith would not be allowed to participate in inter-faith meetings; he could not worship in a Protestant church without securing the permission of an ecclesiastic." Yet so far as we are aware, there is no law, canon or otherwise, which prevents Roman Catholics from attending meetings with members of other faiths. They do it all the time, and with the blessing of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The meetings of the National Conference of Christians and Jews which have been held in this country over the past several decades are obvious proof of the fact. Insofar as the statement refers to a Catholic *worshipping* in a Protestant church, the signers are either implying that it makes no difference where a man worships or that Catholics should not have the freedom to worship solely in the manner dictated by their conscience and belief.

The statement frequently refers to the importance of maintaining the traditional American principle of "separation of church and state." This principle in our judgment, is a sound one, but when a group such as Peale's gives priority to the separation of church and state there is a certain amount of hypocrisy involved. We have yet to hear any public demand from Norman Vincent Peale or those associated with him that tax

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exemption on Protestant church properties be eliminated. We have yet to read of any protest from such groups against the inclusion of the words "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance. We also are struck by the fact that, although they speak of keeping the church and the affairs of state in separate categories, there seems no disinclination on the part of Norman Vincent Peale (nor should there be) to speak out as he wishes on political subjects – including the Presidential campaign of 1960.

What precisely would follow if we accepted the argument against a Roman Catholic President at its face value? The statement notes that "the constitutions of a number of countries prohibit any person except Roman Catholics from serving as President or Chief of State." Is not the ultimate logic of the Peale position, therefore, that a similar law ruling out a Catholic as President might be advisable in the United States? Moreover, the matters which seem to preoccupy the signers of the statement are matters in which not only the President of the United States but, in many cases, Senators, Governors of states and Mayors have a very important influence. Indeed, the statement refers specifically to Governor DiSalle of Ohio, declaring that "in Ohio today, where there is a Roman Catholic Governor, the attorney general ruled that nuns can be placed on the payroll as teachers"; though the fact is, according to the Associated Press, that the ruling in question was made in November, 1958, during the administration of DiSalle's Protestant predecessor, William O'Neill. Even more serious, the constitutionality of questions involving separation of church and state (such as the constitutionality of public funds being given to help parochial schools run their buses) is determined by the Supreme Court of the United States. Thus the statement would seem to disqualify Catholic membership on the Court: the record plainly shows, however, as one can see in a forthcoming study in this journal by Harold T. Chase, Associate Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Minnesota, that Catholic Justices have in fact behaved as individuals and jurists, not as Catholics.

It appears that the only thing that would entirely satisfy those who subscribe to the Peale line is for the Roman Catholic Church to change its doctrine, that is, to cease being the Roman Catholic Church. Or perhaps the Vatican ought to go out of business in Rome, so that the Church may no longer be considered a "temporal power." It is also implied that the only way that Senator Kennedy could prove his bonafides is by giving up his faith.

Certainly it is shameful to feel obliged to say, as editors of an independent journal of opinion, that none of the editors or contributing editors who writes on politics or on public affairs in *The New Republic* is a Roman Catholic. Yet the kind of anti-Catholic propaganda and political bigotry which is being evidenced in this campaign so far requires just this sort of shameful disclaimer because, as we have learned, to combat this propaganda is to invite the charge of complicity with the hierarchy. Nor would it normally seem necessary to report that the editors have in several private talks with Senator Kennedy found quite telling reason to believe that, as Dr. Bennett puts it, he "knows his way around in his church" and is hardly overawed by it. It seems to us important that those who are not attached to the Roman Catholic Church, indeed those who disagree with many of its doctrines and at times find repugnant many of the actions of militant Catholic laymen or individual members of the hierarchy in local community affairs, should make it clear that they will have no part of the kind of campaign which Dr. Peale and his group are fostering.

Having It Both Ways

What is happening now, it goes without saying, poses a grave challenge to the integrity and intelligence of all American Protestantism. But likewise it is a matter on which Mr. Nixon himself is seriously challenged; let him prove his sincerity when he says that religion is not an issue by directly contradicting and taking issue with Norman Vincent Peale. We don't believe he'll do it – he certainly didn't do it on his *Meet the Press* appearance of September 11, when he carefully avoided any direct challenge to Peale – but we believe he should. We don't believe he'll do it any more than he would take issue with his very early supporters who helped knife Helen Gahagan Douglas by suggesting she was on Marcantonio's party line, or his present-day backers who applaud Barry Goldwater's crusade.

In this case, though, we are not sure whether political wisdom might not lie in a forthright and explicit repudiation of Dr. Peale. Kennedy as the underdog in a campaign seen in terms of religious intolerance might gain much more than he loses. Dr. Peale, who has made his name on the unassailable issues of home and hearth, seemed a bit shaken by the controversy swirling around him after the Washington meeting. Like Mr. Nixon, he cannot in the end have it both ways, but he would like to. On the day after he had thrown the religious issue into the open, he said in a statement that "after serious and may I say prayerful thought and with no repudiation of my personal conviction, I have come to the conclusion that the public agitation of religion as an issue can only be divisive and therefore in the long run harmful to our country. . . ." Dr. Peale's second thoughts included the observation that the issue should be "a matter of personal conscience," which reminded us of the comment by one of William Dean Howell's characters that "the difficulty is to know conscience from self-interest."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eisenhower to the Bullpen

Once the United States seemed to have the touch of a great and responsible power. It may recover this some day, but for now, the touch seems to be gone. The electorate is baying off on the scent of a false issue. The candidates seem bemused. The Administration has to strain even to seem picayune.

Such has been the quality up to now of its response to the challenge presented by the decision of Nikita Khrushchev to lead the Soviet delegation to the General Assembly and to bring the lesser lords of the Warsaw Pact along with him. What a lesson this is in initiative for an Administration which has boasted so much about seizing it!

The situation is charged with ironies. It is the United States which first cultivated the practice of having our national leader attend the General Assembly from time to time. When other governments sent secondary figures as heads of their delegations, we were the ones most likely to reflect disappointment. The General Assembly as a town meeting of the world was our idea. A decade ago in the Uniting for Peace Resolution, the US led the way in placing hope in the UN as a forum and framework of cooperation, as a source of international authority and legitimacy. Now the adversary is here to exploit the venture against us – to persevere in organizing a working majority of the Assembly to support his own purposes. For him it is a season of great opportunity. A dozen or so neophyte states will have representatives on hand for the first time, ready to receive their first impressions as participants. The range of policy and propaganda options open to Khrushchev and Company is great – Africa, economic aid, disarmament, overflights and espionage. How they will employ them is a matter for conjecture. The one thing sure enough for prediction is that this will turn out to be one of the most significant and determinative turns of the great competition called the Cold War.

So far the best thing our government seems able to think of is a huff. State Department men have been remarking privately about Khrushchev's effrontery. The word has gone about that the President is still smarting over the tongue lashing at Paris, the withdrawal of the invitation to Moscow, and the accompanying disappointment of his and his grandchildren's travel plans, and would like to have the unbidden visitor received coldly. Getting even for slights and insults seems to be the measure of the imagination being brought to bear. Security considerations were given as the basis for the decision to restrict Khrushchev and some of the others to Manhattan during their stay. Perhaps so. Yet the French were able to see Khrushchev safely around far and wide in May. It is difficult to see how security would be greater in Manhattan than at the Soviet delegation's Long Island estate. We do not mourn for Khrushchev immured in a Manhattan hotel, but for our own small and profitless response to his uninvited presence.

Countering the Soviet initiatives in the General Assembly will require the best thought and effort we can give. There is little time, and no time at all to go off in a sulk. James Wadsworth, estimable as he may be, is not of a caliber to meet the requirements, nor is Christian Herter, who seems to be tiring as the end of his duties nears. The duty falls to the President. His is the only available personality of sufficient stature. It will be hard on one who thought that the way to peace lay along the course of good will visits. That idea washed out. Now he should face the call to a sterner duty. The country should say to him: Get in and pitch. You're the only one to do it. No matter how many hits they may make off you, you've got to go the nine innings. So get off the bench and get out to the bullpen. It's up to you now. Good luck!

Africa and the Cold War

Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba appears too self-centered to stay committed for more than 24 hours to any ideology larger than Lumumbaism, but the fact remains that he has served only Communist interests by every policy turn he has taken in the past fortnight. In his defense, it can be pointed out that he is a man who characteristically acts on impulse, in response to immediate stimuli, and without looking over the next hill. The problem of getting his Communist "advisors" back into Pandora's Box once his present purpose of clobbering the opposition could be achieved seems a matter which he has not really considered. Seven weeks ago, with similar lack of foresight, he blithely signed away the Congo's economic future to a fast-talking New York promoter named L. Edgar Detwiler.

It is the very flagrancy of Mr. Lumumba's folly which nonetheless offers the one faint ray of hope in the Congo picture. There is a growing impression that his irresponsible handling of the Congo's, and Africa's, destiny has been too much for other African nationalist leaders to swallow. The independent African states, which are now going through a grave soul-searching in an effort to work out a common policy concerning the UN-Soviet/Lumumba confrontation in the Congo, may decide that Mr. Lumumba has done such disservice to the cause of African progress that he is expendable. In such an event, Mr. Khrushchev could find himself backing a horse no longer in the race.

So far, the Africans are being impressively discreet about what is going on in their private talks and cables, partly because of embarrassment over Guinea's decision to break ranks and play an exclusively Lumumba-Soviet line in recent negotiations. Nevertheless, it is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

already apparent that the Soviets' broadside approach to Africa during these past few weeks has, for the first time, alarmed African statesmen about Communist objectives. There has been strikingly little subtlety either in the Soviet effort to surround the impressionable Lumumba with hand-picked advisors or in Moscow's red-carpet treatment of Guinea's Sekou Toure last week. What is apparent, however, is that relations within the Ghana-Guinea Union are not as compatible as they were a few months ago.

There are many in Washington who are urging the United States Government to "do something" about the Congo. Some among these compare the crisis to Hungary and suggest that we should move in troops at once to counter the Soviet intrusion into the internal struggle for power. These activists do not take into account either the fact that the highly-publicized Soviet aid to Lumumba is so far confined to a few transport planes and some 250 technicians, or that nobody – the Congolese, any faction of the Congolese, the independent African states, or a UN consensus – has requested American military intervention. In these circumstances, it would be extremely difficult to justify any overt US military entry into a country where we have no historical role whatsoever without ending up the villain in the piece.

Since everyone seems to have a hand in the Lumumba-Kasavubu-Tshombe marionette show, the US is also, no doubt, pulling some of the strings. But on the larger UN stage, the best line of defense against Khrushchev's new ploy is the solid good sense of Africa's more secure neutralists. Men of the caliber of Morocco's King Mohammad, Tunisia's Bourguiba, Ghana's Nkrumah, Togo's Olympio, Nigeria's Premier Abubakar Balewa – to name only the best-known spokesmen for Africa's growing coterie in the UN – have no intention of handing Africa, or the Congo, over to the Soviets. "The policy of my government," said Nkrumah in a radio address on September 8, "is to keep the Cold War out of Africa, to condemn and resist the reintroduction of colonialism in any form, and to see that the Congo Republic maintains its territorial integrity and national independence. . . . In fact, war can only be kept out of Africa if the United Nations and the African states in particular play an active and positive role."

NEW DOUBTS IN BRITAIN ABOUT THE ALLIANCE

De Gaulle Alone

London

If anything, General Charles de Gaulle's latest pronouncements have further widened the gulf which now separates British from French policy; and it is doubtful whether any of France's other allies will feel very differently. The General seems to assume that while cooperation is vitally necessary inside the Western alliance, cooperation means the acceptance of policies which France has already decided for herself without even consulting her allies.

Thus he demands military assistance from the United States as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization but refuses to accept the principle of integrated defense policies which has always been the foundation of NATO strategy. He insists that the NATO countries should have a common attitude on all problems outside Europe but simultaneously rejects any external advice on what France should do in Algeria. He wants the countries of the Common Market to coordinate their foreign policies but consistently vetoes any proposals the other countries agree on for bridging the economic gulf between themselves and the rest of Western Europe.

At first sight his support for the creation of a European Parliament and a popular referendum on European unity looks like a concession to the integrationists among the Six. But in the same speech he maintains that the functional organizations of the Six should be responsible to the separate national governments – a big step backward from the provisions of both the European Economic Community and of the Coal and Steel Community. Indeed, his attitude toward the French Assembly shows how little real importance he attaches to any parliamentary institutions.

The real disappointment in de Gaulle's press conference, however, is the absence of any new proposals for ending the war in Algeria. As the *London Times* points out in an unusually critical editorial, this may be as disastrous for France herself in the long run as it will be embarrassing for her allies in the short run. It is almost certain to lead to the passing of a motion by the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United Nations Assembly condemning French policy. Such a motion is likely to be supported by all of France's former territories in Africa, putting the future of the French Union into grave jeopardy. And it is highly doubtful whether many of France's allies will be able to vote against it.

It is of no use for General to Gaulle to write off such a resolution in advance by sneering at the United Nations as mainly composed of "totalitarian states, states without cohesion, and states without information." Even if it were only a forum for world opinion, the United Nations would still be the most important single battleground in the global struggle between East and West to which the General attaches so much importance. In fact, most of France's allies believe that the presence of the UN in the Congo may not only have prevented general war in Africa, but may also have set an important precedent for similar intervention in other conflicts which present a danger to world peace.

There is great admiration outside France for General de Gaulle as a personality of enormous stature and as the man who created the conditions for the recent renaissance of France. But he has now renewed the doubts aroused by his war memoirs as to whether the assumptions which govern his diplomacy are really compatible with the facts of the modern world. The tragedy is that though – as his memoirs again revealed – very few Frenchmen share those assumptions, there is at present no means by which even informed opinion in France can exert a moderating influence upon him. Few statesmen since Coriolanus can have shown such a superbly arrogant self-confidence as General de Gaulle. At the end of his press conference he remarked: "People say to me, 'you are here, but after you there will be chaos'. Some of them suggest that we should install chaos immediately to ensure the succession. I must think about it."

DENIS HEALEY

KHRUSHCHEV SITS BACK WHILE ULBRICHT PUTS ON PRESSURE

The Vulnerability of West Berlin

Berlin

The latest Berlin crisis has sent another unpleasant tremor through Western Germany and through much of Western Europe. This is only partly due to the suddenness of the East German restrictions on movement between West and East Berlin, and between the Federal Republic and Berlin. It is not due in any way at all to the scale of these restrictions, which resulted in the obstruction by the East German People's Police of a few hundred West Germans who wanted to visit Berlin, and the turning back at the sector boundary inside Berlin itself of a similar number of people ready to assert their right of free movement within the city.

Western worries over the latest crisis are based on a number of other considerations. The first is that the East German restrictions constitute only one step in what is likely to be a long-term campaign to change the status of Berlin. German and Allied observers in Berlin are agreed on this point. For the restrictions, which have been carried out in such an arbitrary way, but with such sinister politeness (all the bluster and bravado of the People's Police of a few years back has vanished), could not of themselves inflict material damage on West Berlin. The scale of these restrictions has been deliberately limited. And so has their time span. They have obviously been used as a test case.

The second valid consideration is that the East Germans, or rather the Ulbricht regime, has proved what it set out to prove – that four power agreements over Berlin could be contravened (of course, with Soviet approval) with no risk whatever: This contravention indicated, in turn, that similar measures can be applied, in the short run, if the Federal Government and Parliament insist on convening the Bundestag in Berlin later this year. They can be applied with added force, and they can make more than 500 members of the Bundestag use the air routes into Berlin. And in the long run, restrictive measures can be used in order to shake the confidence of the Berliners and reduce the economic, political and sentimental interest of Western Germany in Berlin.

A third consideration is that the Western Powers, in the face of East German localized aggression against Berlin, have been shown to be powerless. The three Western Commandants in Berlin protested, quite rightly, to the Soviet Commandant, General Zacharov. They could have followed this protest up – as many Germans wanted – with further protests, first through their Bonn ambassadors to the Soviet ambassador there,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

then on a governmental level. They did not do this because, as one Allied official in Berlin put it to me, "We cannot use up all of our possibilities of protest too quickly. Afterwards there would be nothing more for us to do."

The Western Powers have no direct approach to the East German Republic, which they do not recognize. Nor has the Federal Republic. The West Germans are virtually as impotent in a matter of this kind as their allies. One suggestion which has been aired here is that the East German rail and canal communications running through West Berlin could be cut. But this would be tantamount to the West Berliners imposing a blockade on themselves. Another proposal was that all West Germans should boycott the Leipzig Trade Fair which opened this week. This would be the merest pin-prick for the East Germans. Yet another was that the interzonal trade agreement, which involves the exchange of goods worth 1.7 billion marks ($404.6 million) a year, should be cancelled. This would indeed hurt the East Germans more than the West Germans. East German imports from the Federal Republic consist largely of steel and high-grade finished and semi-finished goods. Largely in order to maintain contact with Eastern Germany, the Federal Republic accepts lignite, sugar and other products which could be bought elsewhere. Here again, cancellation of the interzonal trade agreement would deprive West Germans of their only real weapon.

The latest Berlin crisis has, in fact, demonstrated once again the shocking vulnerability of West Berlin. The Soviet Union has been able to sit back and watch the contortions of the West, while Herr Ulbricht's jackals nibble at the carcass of Berlin. The East Germans have been able to act with an arrogant confidence and complacency. They have been able to discriminate against West German citizens and to explain to the West Berliners how lucky they are not to be citizens of the Federal Republic. They have been able to "define" classes of West Germans who will not be given freedom of movement (they have selected Baptists, ex-soldiers, ex-members of the SS, many school children and people born east of the river Oder as well as, in some cases, in what is today the East German Republic). They have tightened and loosened their restrictive measures at will. And they have announced openly that they will reapply such measures when they wish.

Herr Ernst Lemmer, the Federal Minister for All-German Affairs, told me that the East Germans had not really achieved concrete results. They have shown only that they can make nuisances of themselves: they have not shown that they can frighten the people of Berlin or alter the status of the city. This is superficially true. But the East German regime is playing a much longer-term game. If they can discourage West Germans from coming to Berlin, they can discourage them from investing money there and placing orders with Berlin firms. Berlin, like Hong Kong, must export in order to live, and the Federal Government has sometimes been rather grudging with the 1.3 billion marks ($309.4 million) a year of subsidies which bolster the Berlin economy. Lack of capital and lack of orders would slowly, unostentatiously wreck the Berlin economy. Alternatively it can enhance those East German offers of financial and economic aid which today look so supremely unattractive.

East German pressure on West Berlin inevitably causes differences of opinion (even if they are no more than that) in the Western camp. The *Times* of London declaimed on September 1 against the staging of refugee rallies in Berlin; a day later the principal Communist paper in Eastern Germany, *Neues Deutschland*, used a section of the *Times* article on its front page. Western newspapers in various countries asked whether it was necessary to bring the whole Bundestag to Berlin. (The Berliners are in favor of doing so, but Chancellor Adenauer's Cabinet is not. At the same time, no responsible German will admit that the Bundestag meeting in Berlin is an empty gesture, and German Cabinet Ministers suggest that the Western Powers should shoulder the responsibility of cancelling the meeting by "recommending" its inadvisability.) The Federal Republic's allies do not favor the "symbolic" gestures made over Berlin. Thus the Western Powers had nothing against the people who were refused entry by road and rail being flown into Berlin in American, British and French aircraft. But they were less certain about the wisdom of announcing this as a "countermeasure" (which the Lord Mayor, Willy Brandt, did on September 1). Nor can the Western Powers see any practical value in staging the "Day of the Homeland" in Berlin. What, after all, is the alleged purpose of this gathering? To assert the right of every German to his former home, even if it is on the east of the Oder-Neisse line or in Czechoslovakia. Is this a strictly practical purpose?

The Berliners do not trouble themselves overmuch with this sort of question. Their primary belief is that they must continue to assert every legitimate right. If they do not, the East Germans will begin to nibble at the city's status. The Berliners believe that a certain degree of assertiveness is necessary in order to bolster up morale. Lack of assertiveness, too, might be interpreted by the East Germans as an invitation to pressure. The Berliners are practical enough people, but they are also incurably sentimental about their city. They defended virtually every inch of it in an unpopular war 15 years ago; they would do so again today. But this need blind no one to the fact that it will be more difficult than ever before to hold this outpost of the Western world from now on. The Berlin story has entered a new and threatening phase.

Terence Prittie

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With a Little Bit of Luck

For Secretary of State Dulles' doctrines of Massive Retaliation and Brinkmanship Secretary Herter substituted the doctrine of Enough Rope, with marked success in the last days of August. At San Jose, we can now see, Herter brought off the delicate and difficult feat of giving Castro enough rope, and the Cuban fanatic hanged himself.

Even those whose respect for the intelligence of the Eisenhower foreign policy is minimal must admit that this was diplomacy. Perhaps within a few weeks, if not a few days, some ass in Washington will be inspired to cut loose with a bray that will spoil the effect; but as these lines are written Mr. Herter remains entitled to credit for a neat job.

He has recovered an appreciable part of the ground lost by such idiocies as our dealing with the Batista regime, and Nixon's poking his nose into the hornets' nest. One is encouraged to believe that with a bit of luck – such as a period of silence on the part of the aforesaid asses in Washington – he may recover more. He might even bring us back to the point we had reached at the end of the Roosevelt regime when our Secretary of State could rely on Mexico as confidently as he did on Canada, and could usually count on Brazil and Chile, as well.

The danger is interference by some of Ike's golf-playing friends, many of whom are managers of great corporations. These lads with the Midas touch are usually calamitous diplomatists because they are unable to understand that the Midas touch is by no means universally respected to the extent that Ike respects it. Thus their advice as to the conduct of international relations is nearly always bad. It is the kind of advice that led Eisenhower to turn the heat on Castro the moment he touched the oil refineries, thereby reviving in Mexico bitter memories of Tampico and Vera Cruz and strengthening Caribbean suspicion that the oil companies dictate American foreign policy.

The condemnation of Castro by the Organization of American States was none of our doing. It was precipitated by Castro himself, and he was betrayed into it by his abysmal ignorance of the real state of public opinion in Latin America. If he had had true information he could easily have avoided his more blatant errors and might have made a great deal of trouble for the United States.

Which is – or might be if anybody in Washington could see it – the great lesson of the episode for the United States. For it was by exactly the same fault that we landed in hot water. If our information about Batista had been accurate and adequate, we could have escaped the error of ignoring Castro until he was in the suburbs of Havana. If we had been truly informed on Peru and Colombia, it is hard to believe that even Nixon would have been reckless enough to carry a lighted cigarette into that powder-magazine.

The question is, how are we to make sure that we are well informed? We can't do it by crucifying every messenger who brings bad news, as Owen Lattimore was crucified for telling us, truthfully, that Chiang was going to lose China. We can't do it by maintaining a preposterous censorship behind which iron-skulled bureaucrats can conceal their incompetence. We can't do it by listening to every Joe McCarthy who thinks he can gain a political profit by starting a spy scare.

Above all, we can't do it by manipulating the press as if it were an organ of the government. The judgment of public opinion in any country does not call for superhuman talents. Any first-rate newspaper reporter, given a chance to investigate, can do it with fair accuracy, often with amazing accuracy. But he must have a chance to inquire and he must be permitted to write about what he learns.

The doctrine of Dulles that newspapermen should not be permitted to go abroad unless their journey "is in the interest of the United States" is a logical absurdity. It is always in the interest of the United States to know the truth, although it may be ruinous to the Administration. What Dulles really meant, although he may have persuaded himself to the contrary, is that no reporter should be allowed to write anything that might embarrass Dulles. The Nine Tailors of Tooley Street were not the only persons who regarded themselves as "we, the people of England." All of us tend to fall into that error and a Secretary of State, unless restrained, is practically certain to fall into it.

If Mr. Kennedy realizes this, he is at liberty to say so; if Mr. Nixon realizes it, he is handicapped, for saying so might look like a repudiation of Dulles diplomacy. If neither realizes it, then the achievement of Herter is likely to prove transient and the Communist non-military campaign will probably gain more ground.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Big School Scandal

by Richard L. Strout

Like Carrie Nation with her hatchet, President Eisenhower for eight years, with one exception, has stalwartly saved the schools from habit-forming federal aid. The President frankly concedes that education is a fine thing but far better have firetrap schools and illiterate teachers than let the public sip the Treasury cup that intoxicates and kills.

In a few months the Eisenhower Era will belong to the historians. They may prove as sympathetic as contemporary editorial writers. But what will they say about schools? As the era closes, America's mortal enemy, the Soviet, is spending twice the percentage of its gross national product for education that we are and travelers report a kind of passion for learning. "We were simply not prepared for the degree to which the USSR, as a nation, is committed to education as a means of national advancement," reported the awed US Commissioner of Education, L. G. Derthick, in 1958. Alvin C. Eurich, director of the Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education, found this intensity for education "much more frightening" than announcements of H-bombs and guided missiles.

Dr. Eurich should take heart. Russia may or may not have won space-race superiority through her schools. But if she has, in fact, achieved it, hasn't it been by *centralized grants to local education*? An achievement by that means, in the philosophy current in Washington over eight years, leaves the spiritual victory to us.

The dogma of Academic Anti-Federalism is a subtle one. Federal aid is proper for many things – highway construction, for example: the $40 billion interstate highway program is 90 percent federally financed. That is fine! But direct federal aid to schools? At once the latent Carrie Nation in the Administration takes over in what is, after all, a matter of theology.

The late Senator Taft began with the same feeling but found such shocking school conditions that he changed his mind. Teachers' salaries are, after all, less than many factory workers' and half a million boys and girls jam classes of 40 and more. In 1949 Taft fought for a general aid to education bill. It foundered on the parochial school issue. Our boys and girls were spared the degradation of better schools and teachers, won through federal assistance, by the happy fact that Christians could not agree on how to split the money.

RICHARD L. STROUT *is a veteran Washington news correspondent and frequent contributor.*

President Eisenhower and Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, ruminated on the subject a year after the triumph of the Great Crusade. The school building slowdown of the Korean War had intensified evils which Taft had found. In the message of January, 1954, came the big announcement. A White House Conference on Education would be held. It would be spectacular. It would be preceded by state conferences, from which delegates would come to Washington in December, 1955 – two years hence. With the relief of one who had settled a problem the President said: "We can then proceed with confidence on a constructive, effective long-range program."

Even before the White House Conference the President in January, 1955, noted an "emergency" with "an unprecedented classroom shortage." Adlai Stevenson called it "appalling." To a nation quivering with the will to act, the President offered an interim, impressively labeled, 3-year, $7 billion school construction program. It sounded fine, but it soon developed that the President had divested it of all but the teeniest sip of federal stimulants. The federal government would underwrite state and local IOU's for sale to the banks. It was a bankers' bill. The Treasury would get back all it advanced but $220 million.

It should be explained that since World War II the federal debt has increased only about 4 percent, in spite of all the consternation over its size, whereas the almost unpublicized state and local debt load has soared, believe it or not, 320 percent – or 80 times as much! Local agencies are today in desperate straits, up to their necks in IOU's, with their tax sources concentrated in regressive sales and property taxes while Washington skims the cream of income and corporation taxes. The new school plan would have put states and localities deeper into red ink without solving the basic difficulty.

At about this time Mrs. Hobby mysteriously told a House committee that the classroom shortage had been greatly exaggerated, without public explanation of her shift. The President's "$7 billion" program stalled.

In the great temperance drama of the past eight years the White House Conference of 1955 – billed as the "greatest study in the annals of public education" – was the one comic interlude. Mrs. Hobby thought she had handpicked the kind of delegates who could model for Whistler's Mother, but when they breathed the heady air of Washington they suddenly developed erratic and disgusting propensities; they proposed a binge

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on federal aid. They signed a report saying that "some states do not have sufficient financial resources to take care of the essential needs of the schools." Mrs. Hobby drove them out of the federal rum shops with difficulty.

Nineteen fifty-six was an election year. The White House Conference was over; something had to be done. That January Eisenhower asked for a $1.5 billion, 5-year program, couched in more straightforward terms than the first one, which Congress had never taken seriously. It bent the principle of Anti-Federalism but did not break it, for the money was to go strictly to classroom construction, not teachers' salaries or such matters. Democrats responded with a still bigger bill.

It all ended in a civil rights battle. Republicans in the House, opposing the Democratic bill, backed the Powell Amendment barring federal aid to segregated schools for which they voted, 148-46. Then they deftly switched sides and voted against the whole bill, 75-119, which they defeated with the aid of the sullen Southern bloc, 194-224. The adroit GOP maneuver was a brilliant success and showed that race is just as potent as religion in preserving the children from insidious federal aid.

In the campaign that followed, Eisenhower blandly put the whole blame on the Democrats. He repeatedly told audiences that since Congress had rejected his program, "that just means we will have to do the same thing in four years instead of five!" (Applause.)

Carrying out this promise the next year Eisenhower announced that "a program designed to meet the emergency needs for classrooms should be enacted without delay" and the Democrats responded with their usual larger proposal. This episode was to produce the strangest chapter of all. Everybody agreed to omit the Powell Amendment. Educators took heart. Marion Folsom, Mrs. Hobby's successor, told a press conference that he hoped Eisenhower would "get on the phone" to swing wavering votes to HR 1. But the President didn't commit himself. Tension grew. At the final moment, failing to get word from the President, the Democrats capitulated; they announced they would back an amendment substituting the exact provisions of Eisenhower's bill for their version. Before their motion could be made, however, the entire education bill was killed, 208-203. So close was the majority that three votes would have changed it. Republicans voted 111-77 to kill; Democrats 97-126 not to. Three out of the four top GOP leaders voted to kill.

Historians will hardly blame Eisenhower for this episode because he knew nothing about it. At his July 31 press conference on the following Wednesday, Eisenhower said yes, he would have signed HR 1 all along if it had come to him, though he preferred his original bill. *Washington Post* reporter Edward Folliard wonderingly asked, why then he had not intervened with his party to support the Ayres Amendment substituting his bill for HR 1? The President looked blank as the reporter explained the matter which had been in all the newspapers and on the TV and radio channels.

"I never heard of that, Mr. Folliard," the President said earnestly. "If that is true, why, you are telling me something I never heard."

Not long afterward Secretary Folsom retired.

Other things had been happening in the meantime. The Joint Atomic Energy Committee warned in March, 1956, that the US atomic program was "in serious danger" from a shortage of trained engineers and scientists. The Rockefeller Brothers report on education found US schools "overcrowded, understaffed and ill-equipped" and recommended doubling annual expenditures for 10 years. Travelers from Russia told half-believed tales of technical schools. And then on October 4, 1957, came Sputnik.

It was enough to exasperate a President fighting for fiscal responsibility.

After pooh-poohing Sputnik as a "plaything" and a "basketball" for six months, the Administration offered, and this time Congress passed (after modifying), the National Defense Education Act of 1958 – the only major school bill in eight years. Making a theological exception here, Eisenhower backed a general federal aid bill with emphasis on science.

Even with this concession the proposed federal outlay was only *half* what the Administration had proposed in the school construction bill the year before; a remarkable feat of economy in view of the national excitement. A feature of the new proposal was 10,000 federal scientific scholarships for colleges but GOP purists could not accept this departure from orthodoxy. It was killed on a floor motion by Rep. Walter Judd (R, Minn.), who was to be keynoter at the 1960 convention. Loans were substituted for federal grants.

And now we come to the final chapter. When victorious Democrats filled the Congress in January, 1959, fears of inflation again filled Eisenhower. He offered another school bill but no longer mentioned an "emergency." It was a throw-back to the old Oveta Culp Hobby loan-guarantee plan, so limited that 17 states would have had to change their constitutions to use it. Hardly troubling to consider it the House and then the Senate passed sweeping federal aid bills while HEW Secretary Flemming warned of a veto.

But, as we all know, that wasn't necessary. The House Rules Committee vetoed it for the President. In the post-convention short session the Rules Committee by a 6-6 tie (with all four Republicans and two Democrats voting "No") rejected the House plea to send conferees to the Senate to compromise the differences in the two bills. That ended it. Once more the conservatives had clobbered the kids.

And so, historians, that's the story. That's the record of eight years. You take it from here!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Foreign Policy and the Election

by Charles Burton Marshall

We can safely predict the character of discussion of foreign policy in the campaign now just getting under way. There will be a good deal of hinting and some outright assertion about relative capacities for the act known as standing up to Khrushchev – all reflecting a more or less implicit assumption that success in the rigors of international competition is determined by personal style and facility for finger-wagging. This is the 1960 version of the I-can-handle-old-Joe fallacy. Both candidates will undoubtedly come out for peace, with an accompanying bonus of several other desirable attributes such as justice, security and freedom. Both will probably take a stand strongly in favor of adequacy in national defense. The candidates and their principal exponents will endorse dynamic, imaginative, forward-looking and sensible characteristics for our foreign policy. We shall be counseled to preserve the old values and to rejoice in change. Both candidates will oppose appeasement. Both will be for pacification in the Middle East, stability in Africa and a general prospering among the new and necessitous states. They will assert a determination to win the battle for men's minds.

All such expressions have, of course, only a vague relationship to the actualities of making decisions in foreign policy. For discriminating voters, it will be like attempting to test qualifications for high command by having applicants act the parts of Macduff or Hotspur. We shall watch the staged performances for whatever clues we may discern to their actual capabilities.

This speculative aspect of choosing a President is a main source of zest in our political life. A chance of being wrong is always inherent. Nobody foresaw Thomas Jefferson's talent for territorial aggrandizement. Polk's insights and wilfulness in foreign affairs were indiscernible in his record. Buchanan's experience – Senator, capable Secretary of State, and envoy – gave rich but misleading promise of executive talent. The Illinois lawyer who ran to succeed him a hundred years ago this year had only an obscure term in Congress and no executive experience whatever to offer as his record in public service and yet turned out to be perhaps the most resourceful of all our Presidents.

Some men grow to the burdens of the Presidency. Some are diminished by it. Others seem unaffected. Of which type a man may prove to be is only to be guessed at until he has been tried by the office.

Any man enters the Presidency as a stranger. He may have spent years in close attendance upon the office. He may have been privileged to read all the turgid prose ground out by the top-secret paper mills. Still the difference between being in and being only near the seat of authority is huge. He may know thoroughly the ins and outs of policy from the Senatorial view, but the difference between that and the situation of being accountable – and singularly accountable – for the continuing results of one's actions is a great difference. We shall all watch to see whether the man chosen is of the sort to grow to the burden or to be diminished by its weight, and only the test of actuality will tell.

Before one comes to central responsibility, one sees foreign policy in terms of great generalizations, principles and goals. He regards foreign policy in terms of what the United States would do if it could always have its way. To the man having charge foreign policy assumes a different perspective. Foreign policy takes form in situations lying beyond our fiat. Wills other than our own and not subject to our control are concerned. We have to deal with a world not of our making. The tactical component takes on enhanced proportion. Foreign policy becomes not the simple matter of seizing initiatives but also of having to respond to initiatives seized by others whether we like it or not.

Our last two Presidents offer an interesting contrast in this regard.

Take the case of Harry Truman. I shall take care not to extol his virtues excessively. Some of us tend to exaggerate them in retrospect. I am sure that some of his now apparent eminence is due less to his own altitude than to the flatness of the intervening landscape.

Suddenly precipitated into supreme responsibility in 1945, Truman found awesome the dimension of the huge world he had to deal with and the large purposes he was called upon to shoulder. Within two years he had learned that the ranges of time and space involved in foreign policy, however huge, still break down into tactically manageable portions. It was not so awesome a world after all.

Eisenhower presents a case in contrast. The campaigner of 1952 was fascinated by ideas of great sweep. Policy was aspiration. The word crusade came repeatedly from his lips. How revealing his addiction to that word was! The Eisenhower of later stages has learned the lessons of contingency and complexity. Things tend

---

CHARLES BURTON MARSHALL *is a former member of the State Department Policy Planning Staff.* *This article is adapted from his address last week opening the convention of the American Political Science Association.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to come unstuck. This troubles him. He is perplexed by the tacticalness of policy. Here is what he tells a reporter who questions him about the obdurate imperfection of things: "... In every single situation that comes up, you have got a new problem and here is one of your troubles today. There is no single, there is no possibility in any single instance that I know of where you can isolate a problem between the country you represent, say, and the one I represent. You try to do something and it affects three other countries, and I don't care where you go, whether you go to the Mideast, you go to the Far East, if you talk to Formosa, you are affecting someone else. . . . So that the carrying on of foreign policy is a very intricate business, and it becomes a, you might say, almost an art rather than any science, and I believe that free countries such as ours have got to observe the principles that we observe among ourselves: live and let live."

Whether one to take heart at or to be vexed by intricacies and difficulties, to regard them as opportunities or harassments, the successor President will find the horizon full of them. The focal point requiring clarity in the incoming President's own mind and in his disclosure to the nation is the character of the threat confronting us from the Communist area.

It seems almost banal, this far along in our dealing with the Communists, to be contending for the necessity of a better appraisal of the forces confronting us. Yet on every hand one finds signs still of a failure to take the full measure of them.

An array of evidence comes to mind: for example, the published articles of a former colleague in this journal ("For a New Russian Policy," by Louis J. Halle, August 29, 1960) counseling us to regard the Soviet Union as a *status quo* power, satisfied with its lot, disposed to forget its expansive ambitions now that it has developed a capability to deliver strategic nuclear weapons at long ranges and has established itself as the major economic power of the Eurasian landmass; the line argued by one of our preeminent columnists to the effect that we have only to take the phrase of peaceful coexistence at face value and work out a new equilibrium through a restored use of classic diplomacy; a recent discussion with an earnest friend who scoffed at the possibility of a serious issue over the Congo on the ground of the inconceivability of any actual rational interest in sub-Saharan Africa on the part of the Soviets; a proposal voiced in the Senate last week for an agreement to make Africa an exempt area in the Cold War.

We are told from one side that facing down the Soviets is only a matter of personal style. We are told from another that there is no alternative to settlement and that negotiation is vital to the United States.

What seems hardest for many to recognize – or anyway to understand in full implication – about the forces confronting us is to me the most obvious thing about them: their implacably revolutionary purpose encompassing the world, and the antithetic character of that purpose to a world environment compatible with the survival here of the institutions, goals and standards of our constitutional order.

Too many of us find it too difficult to believe the true measure of our danger. The mind rejects predicament. Hope reaches out for an easier answer – perhaps a windfall of trouble between China and the Soviet Union, some lurking element of peasant goodwill in Khrushchev's psyche, some moderation produced by success itself within Russia, some providential improvement in mutual understanding gained through the exchange of travelers, or some transformation of relationships to be achieved through the art of negotiating.

I take account of the arguments that these purposes are theoretic rather than actual and that the establishment of Communist world hegemony would not be feasible anyway. The fact is that Communist purpose is restricted by countervailing forces, not by built-in restraints. It does not dispose of the problem to question the factual existence of a Communist timetable for world conquest country by country. What is in point is that the adversary continually strives for a situation where every conflict of purpose deemed important is to be settled in his interest.

Three general sorts of relationship are possible between the Soviet Union so motivated and areas not under its control or allied with it in the fashion of China. The first is a contest of purpose induced by the resistance of others. The second is acquiescence in Soviet designs. The third is war in its literal sense of stately violence. The situation of contested purpose is known as Cold War. The Soviet term for acquiescence by others to Soviet designs is peaceful coexistence. Soviet purpose is constant through all of these relationships, and Soviet policy takes on a remarkably consistent wholeness when viewed in the light of Soviet premises. The purpose is pursued by a panoply of instruments chosen and emphasized to fit the needs of whatever conditions may be at hand – diplomacy in the customary mode, international conferences, mass media propaganda, espionage, subversion, economic aid, trade or war and the threat of war by whatever weapons.

Another theoretic alternative possibility is the muting of Communist purpose in an accommodation to the wills and interests of those who do not choose to yield to the Communist thrust. That naturally represents our preference, but it is obviously beyond our power to attain under present conditions. So for now we are brought to a choice among the three possibilities of contesting Communist purposes without war, acquiescing in those purposes, or bringing on literal war.

The Communist preference naturally is for success to be gained through the acquiescence of others. Finding resistance, the Communist adversary prosecutes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

old War. He prefers to avoid literal war. This is not a matter of principle. It is a matter to be measured in terms of the needs of the time, cost and the chances of success. Under present circumstances the Communist adversary, like us, prefers to avoid war – a matter brought to our attention again and again as if it constituted a reassurance and a solution.

This desire of the Communists to avoid war, however, does not dispose of the question of war and the factor of force. The possibility of war and the potential for war bear on every difference. The problem it poses to us may be typified by an analogy to the plot of a TV Western. Suppose an individual wearing a gun and flaunting a reputation for a lightning draw and a sure aim is throwing his weight around in the town where you have interests and obligations. Suppose he is interposing in every difference, trying to bring his will to bear in every question. It does you little good to tell yourself that he really prefers not to shoot up the town and would rather have his way without it. If he can manage to make more plausible than you can the point that in a last analysis he might be willing to draw, then he has an edge on you in every contest of will. The possibility will always be a factor in your mind; and if the possibility is more intimidating to you than to him, then you will find yourself restrained by caution while he ambitiously flaunts his boldness.

The adversary does not want war. He says so persuasively. He repeatedly emphasizes its horrors. He does this not to reassure us of his pacific intention but to nudge us along toward his version of coexistence.

Shifts in Communist style, tone and method do not represent alterations of purpose. Rapid changes from intimidation to talk of accommodation do not represent a yielding of aims. Transformations from the old Khrushchev to the new or back again represent no more a modification of ambition in him than do changes from the old to the new in other politicians I might mention. The shifts in line represent a change in pace but not in direction – and we should keep this in mind in evaluating the gossip about cleavage between Moscow and Peking. They reflect changes in the requirements of the situation within the Communist realm and in estimates of the possibilities and opportunities of the external situation. Such variations account for the apparent differences between the Stalinist phase and the period of Khrushchev's dominance. The importance of these differences are susceptible of exaggeration.

This appraisal of Soviet purpose sheds light on the problem of negotiation. With the Soviet power, negotiation is never regarded as an alternative to the exercise of pressure against antagonists. Negotiation is merely a means of forwarding Soviet purpose. In a negotiation where one side knows precisely what it wants and perseveres in pursuit of it and the other side merely wishes to bring off agreement, the outcome is foreordained in favor of the former. It is necessary for our side to see negotiation not as an alternative to the Cold War – that is, to carrying on resistance to Soviet purpose – but as an instrument to be used in the Cold War. The issue is not whether to negotiate with the Soviet Union. It is how and under what conditions to negotiate – how to position ourselves the better to press our purposes and never to fall for the fallacy of regarding negotiation as an alternative to struggle.

Anxiety to get along with negotiation as a way out of the Cold War stems from fear lest the Cold War, prolonged, should lead to literal war. None can deny this danger, but the contrasting course – of taking the plea for coexistence at face value, surely offers an even more dangerous alternative. It is not a choice between danger and safety. It is a choice between two dangers – the one problematic, the other certain. Those who proclaim the dangers of continuing the Cold War have the matter precisely upside down. The danger lies in giving it up. Those deploring tensions in the world and repeating the cliché in favor of relaxation forget that the tensions are produced by the circumstance of there being two causes in the field.

The next President will not, let us hope, forget this central reality as he confronts accompanying and equally real problems of huge complexity and long term – how to get along in the creation of a new world order to replace the imperial order now in collapse, how to bring along the nascent states to political and economic viability, how to vitalize economic development. There are exigent problems of regaining balance in our defense posture –accelerating an adequate deterrent force, increasing our passive defenses, creating the elements of a recuperative apparatus adequate for survival and renewal of our national life in event deterrence fails, and fleshing out our capability for fighting limited wars. There will be problems of how to renew, and how to persevere in, the quest of rational mutual solutions in the field of weapons control and limitation – something we must unremittingly seek, however dim the prospect.

The structure of our preferences is a counterpart to that of our adversary. We want to avoid war. We covet a world compatible with our purposes; we would like the adversary to be more accommodating, but this we cannot ordain merely by wishing it. Given the limits of choices before us – to resist, to acquiesce, or to plunge the world into war – our interests lie in the continuation of Cold War.

This point we do not sufficiently understand. The continuation of the Cold War represents the practicable preference of our own policy. It means that we are still willing and able to resist being pushed into compliance with the adversary's terms. In this sense Cold War does represent the policy of the opponents of Soviet designs. Perhaps by recognizing this we can put more heart, will and resource into the effort.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two Views of America – I. Eight Deadly Sins

by William Cole

The eight deadly sins are pride, covetousness, lust, anger, gluttony, envy, sloth, and Madison Avenue. We're guilty of all of them, Robert Osborn says in this short, searing, graphically brilliant book.

The Vulgarians
by Robert Osborn
(New York Graphic Society; $3.95)

Osborn's anger flows directly from his viscera through his arm to his pen. In the text, which is hand-lettered, exacerbated, and God knows to the point, he charges that we've become a flabby lot indeed; to Osborn we're a bland yogurt culture, seduced by money, and a long, long way from the Overland Trail. "We are settling by default, as no great nation has ever settled, for a conforming, unthreatening, median, massive mediocrity." He says we're being had by big business, television muck, and advertising "idea men." We're progressing in childishness and running to fat.

What to do about it? "Get hold!" says Osborn. There is no solution but in the individual, who should feel under obligation to press at every turn for excellence. The leaders "must *lead* . . . they must put forth *audacious* ideas and say our predicament clearly and often."

With the text are some fifty full-page illustrations, any one of which would win an art director's heart, Osborn has a slashing control of line and color, and a variety ranging from the hard-hitting, direct cartoon to multi-colored "important" statements. We have the sudsy message sloshing out of the TV set and engulfing the flower of American womanhood; the typical double-breasted, two-fisted, ham-handed businessman; the blue, brooding painting illustrating "the once endless beauty of our land." And the vicious drawings of the smile, the smile, always the smile.

Cartoonists are a gentle lot; most of them are content to point out our foibles winningly and to eschew the rough stuff. Only a handful – Herblock, Mauldin, Feiffer, George Price (in his wonderful *Ice Cold War* in 1951) – ever gets mean or particularly meaningful; ever goes out of the way to make unpopular statements and break the complacency. Osborn is the most violent of them all, and bless him for it. What George Grosz did for – or I should say to – his fellow-Germans in the 1920's comes closest to what Osborn is up to today. It's shocking to think that we look *that* bad to one of our fellow-Americans.

Osborn ends *The Vulgarians* with a flourish of full-color pages, one of which is a drawing of a man, hands unshackled and arms flung to the sky. The accompanying text refers to "sensing anew the hopes of all men." We haven't had this kind of drawing or sentiment since the days of Art Young on *The Masses*. Coming from any other artist it would seem old-fashioned and naïve; Osborn has a purity of conviction and an artistic directness that carry it off beautifully. An impressive, impassioned book, and a service to man and to art.

II. An End to Self-Doubt

by Barry Spacks

It was bound to come: a book of unquestionable sincerity and insight which, among other things, turns the customary verdict of America's cultural inferiority *vis à vis* the European model neatly upsidedown. As such, this collection of essays on Anglo-American relations, on Britain's role as prime partner of the United States in the leadership of the West, on the present state of art, education, and private values in both countries, is sure to provide some trans-Atlantic controversy. When it appeared earlier in magazine form, one of the essays elicited a stern editorial protest from *The Times Literary Supplement* and heated correspondence there and in the pages of other prominent British journals.

A Mirror for Anglo-Saxons
A Discovery of America
A Rediscovery of England
by Martin Green
(Harper; $3.50)

For what Martin Green has done is to press the debate on Anglo-American culture from the other side. It seems appropriate, given the long tradition of books in which America is seen through British eyes, that such an effort should have been made by an Englishman, and by one who considers the tone of life in his own country and in the America where he has spent many years, not to damn the one or praise the other – indeed, his comments on the American scene, in a more traditional context, would seem reserved enough – but to find in the younger land a fresh perspective on, and a prescription for, the ills he discovered in his native country.

The book takes the form of an intellectual odyssey, the pursuit of an idea. Thus each essay is surrounded by the author's comments on it, detailing the place it held in his private attempt for his own private reasons, to get to the bottom of a national *malaise* he could not deny. "So in these essays the idea, the subject, as feeble and primitive in conception as 'something wrong with England,' took on for a time, for instance, the form of a political idea, that England was undemocratic, at a later time became regional, speaking in terms of North and South. With each new stage, the old form was left behind

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pretty completely . . . and yet it was the same idea in each formulation, and growing bigger and more vigorous each time."

We are given, in short, a kind of literary autobiography, an attempt to come to conclusions about life as it is lived today by thinking people in America and England. One is reminded of another recent example of an author speaking out in his private and public voice at the same time: Norman Mailer's *Advertisements for Myself*. Mailer's book springs from a dissimilar source and has different objects altogether – his is ultimately an argument for a new decadence, Green's a highly analytical case for a new kind of respectability – but in technique the two initially grip the reader by an unqualified exposure of self.

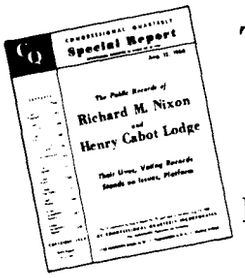
The ultimate function of such personal material here – it runs as counterpoint also through the essays themselves – is to present almost a novelist's *example* of the new Britisher Green is calling for. The attack on England, then, on what is seen as dead, or dying, or death-making in England, is balanced by the very vitality and vulnerability of the author's *persona*. The essence of his thesis is that the cult of the gentleman still dominates England, that the committed perpetuation of the gentlemanly character is at the root of whatever impotence the English are now experiencing, and that in the creation of new models of greatness, lies Britains' chief hope for the future. Green insists on the cultural superiority of the very traits that Americans are so often anxious to excuse in themselves:

"In America, it seems to me, one meets people who combine a simplicity and solidity of temperament with a genuinely adventurous mind, and sufficient shrewdness and self-confidence to keep them from disaster. And one finds them in the sort of place where they can do most good – teaching Freshman English Composition at the universities, for instance. At their best their keynote is a sort of determined ambition, a half-amused realization of being out on a limb, perilously separated from the mass. . . . It is up to them to make a new world . . . to make the practical decisions that follow from their new insights, the votes, the agitations, the sympathies and apathies, palatable and influential in their communities. They are characterized, often, by domesticity and financial struggles . . . They must explain, somehow, that there are other values, and they are living for them."

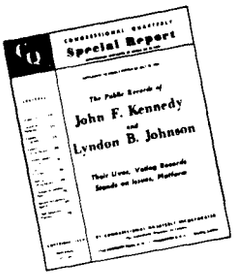
But the solution for England, committed to "an aristocratic manner" when "our only future is democratic," is not to be found in Americanization; rather, in such exemplary figures as D. H. Lawrence, George Orwell, and F. R. Leavis, the author finds a fresh and specifically English pattern already precariously established; his energy is directed toward affirming and justifying this

Examine the Record . . .

Because, for the first time, each candidate for national office has a record in Congress, CQ is more than ever the authoritative source of information regarding their solid background – biography, voting record, stands, speeches, etc.



The Public Records
of
Richard M. Nixon
and
Henry Cabot Lodge



The Public Records
of
John F. Kennedy
and
Lyndon B. Johnson

THESE ARE THE SAME DOCUMENTS USED BY PROFESSIONALS – NEWSPAPERMEN, ORGANIZATIONS, POLITICIANS – IN THE COURSE OF THE 1960 ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

$1.00
each copy.

Prepared by

Congressional Quarterly Service
1156 19th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Please clip along dotted line

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY INC.
1156 19th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Please send me_____cop(y)ies of CQ *Kennedy-Johnson Record*
_____cop(y)ies of CQ *Nixon-Lodge Record*

Enclosed is $_____. ($1.00 for each copy)

Name_____

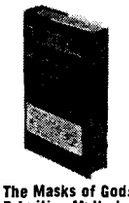
Address_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Take any 3

The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel, Nikos Kazantzakis. Retail $10.00. Member's price $5.95.

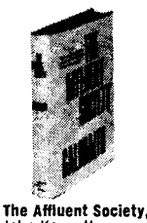
The Golden Bough, Sir James Frazer. Retail $3.95. Member's price $3.25.



The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology, Joseph Campbell. Retail $6.00. Member's price $4.50.

America as a Civilization, Max Lerner. Retail $10.00. Member's price $4.95.

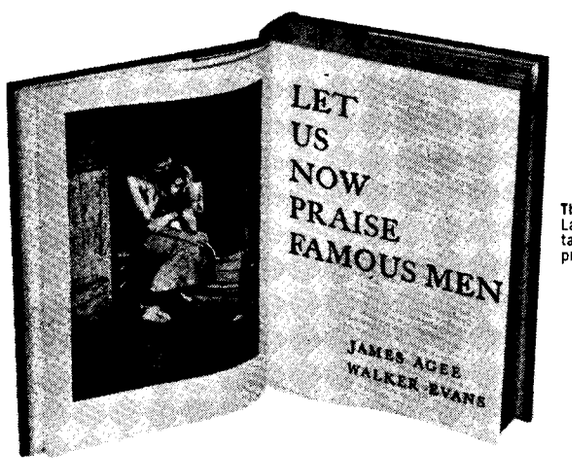
The Origins of Psychoanalysis: Sigmund Freud's Letters. Retail $6.75. Member's price $3.75.



The Affluent Society, John Kenneth Galbraith. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.50.

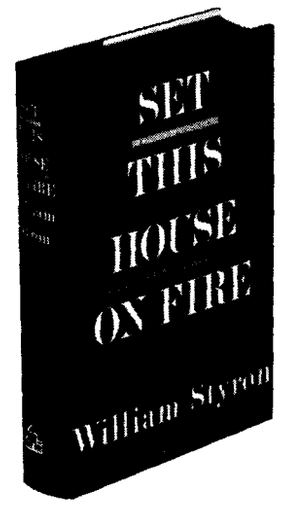
The Dinner Party, Claude Mauriac. Retail $4.00. Member's price $2.95.

A History of Sexual Customs, Dr. Richard Lewinsohn. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.50.



Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, James Agee and Walker Evans. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Holy Barbarians, Lawrence Lipton. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.50.



Set This House on Fire, William Styron. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.25.

The Creation of Woman, Theodor Reik. Retail $3.75. Member's price $2.75.

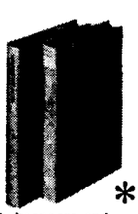
The Western Intellectual Tradition: From Leonardo to Hegel, J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Joy of Music, Leonard Bernstein. Retail $5.95. Member's price $3.95

The Age of Jackson, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.50. Member's price $3.95.

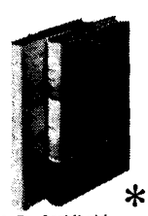
The Crisis of the Old Order, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.00. Member's price $4.50.

The Coming of the New Deal, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.75. Member's price $4.75.



Shakespeare and Company, Sylvia Beach; *and* **Human Nature and the Human Condition,** Joseph Wood Krutch. Combined retail price $8.45. Member's price $4.75. *

My Brother's Keeper, Stanislaus Joyce; *and* **Albert Camus: The Invincible Summer,** Albert Maquet. Combined retail price $8.75. Member's price (for both books) $4.50. *



J. B., Archibald MacLeish; *and* **Brave New World Revisited,** Aldous Huxley. Combined retail price $6.50. Member's price $4.50. *

Streetwalker, Anonymous; *and* **The Future as History,** Robert Heilbroner. Combined retail price $7.50. Member's price (for both books) $4.50. *

SELECTIONS MAKE

LOOK at the selections the Book Find Club has offered its members at substantial savings. The selections of the Book Find Club **are** different. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value — solid, readable books that range from social science to the fine arts.

These are only a few from the outstanding list of more than 100 books and records that the Book Find Club will make available to you as a member if you join now. As an introductory offer, to acquaint you with the benefits and privileges of membership, we invite you to choose any three of the selections pictured above **free** with your first selection.

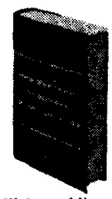
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

books FREE

WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION

A History of Western Morals, Crane Brinton. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.50.

Symbolism in Religion and Literature, edited by Rollo May. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.50.



A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom, Andrew D. White. Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.00.

The Most of S. J. Perelman. Retail $5.95. Member's price $3.95.

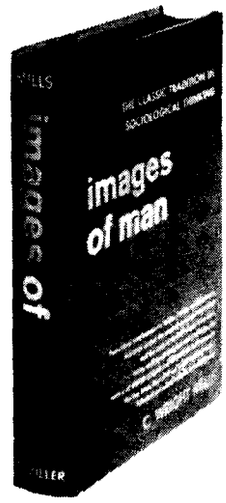
The Complete Work of Nathanael West. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.95.

Chinese Art, William Willets. One-volume edition. Retail $5.00.

The Greek Myths, Robert Graves. One volume edition. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.75.

White Collar, C. Wright Mills. Retail $6.00. Member's price $3.75.

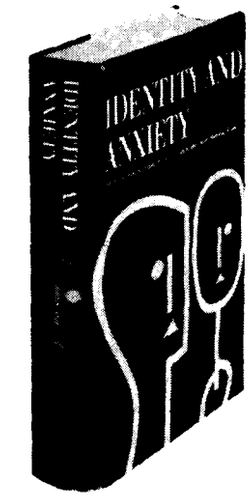
Myth and Mythmaking, edited by Henry Murray. Retail $6.00. Member's price $4.50.



Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking, edited by C. Wright Mills. Penetrating studies of man by Walter Lippmann, Herbert Spencer, Max Weber, Marx, Engels, Veblen, and many others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Power Elite, C. Wright Mills. Retail $6.00. Member's price $3.75.

Selected Plays of Sean O'Casey. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.95.



Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.75.

The Planetarium, Nathalie Sarraute. Retail $4.00. Member's price $2.95.

Advertisements for Myself, Norman Mailer. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.75.

THE DIFFERENCE!

AVERAGE SAVINGS OF 40% As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you take. Furthermore, on certain choices your savings will reach and even exceed 50%. Compare the prices of the books shown here. Your savings on this introductory offer alone can amount to **as much as $31.75.**

BONUS BOOKS When your initial commitment has been fulfilled, you will be entitled to a free bonus book of your own choosing after every third selection that you take.

✱ **Two books counting as one selection**

The Book Find Club

c/o THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1244 19th St. N.W., Wash. 6, D.C.

You may enroll me as a member of the Book Find Club and send me the three free books of my choice with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to buy at least four additional selections—or alternates—in the next twelve months. When my initial commitment has been fulfilled, I will be entitled to a **free bonus book** of my own choosing after every third selection that I take. I am to receive each month without charge the **Book Find News** containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of all other books available to me at special member's prices. This will enable me to make my own choice: if I do not want the selection announced I can return your form saying "send me nothing" or use it to order another book from the more than 100 current choice titles offered. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the four additional selections or alternates.

First Selection_____

Free Books 1_____

2_____

Mr. 3_____

Mrs.

Miss .....

Please print full name

Address .....

City ..... Zone.... State.....

(Same offer and prices apply in Canada. Address: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ontario)

B60-99

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"British decency," as opposed to the gentlemanly ideal, and in his hands the choice between "the moral sense or the aesthetic sense, the reason or the feelings, adventurous assertion or graceful implication" becomes a choice between responsibility and hopeless decay.

This is a passionate and prophetic book; it brings to a head, as nothing before it has done, the violent foment of a new critical generation in England, and offers a vision of America which wonderfully clears the air of self-doubt and self-deprecation.

MOVIES

A Package of Imports

André Gide says somewhere that Hamlet's troubles arose from the fact that he attended a German university. Now, *pace* Gide, Helmut Kautner gives us a film derived from Hamlet which takes place in Germany and in which the hero has attended an American university. In *The Rest is Silence*, which he wrote and directed, Kautner has used many of the character relationships of the play and some character qualities to tell a story about contemporary Ger-

The Rest is Silence
(Films-around-the-World)
The Threepenny Opera (Brandon)
The Idiot (20th Century-Fox)

many – a story he tells with intelligence and bitter purpose.

John Claudius, a young Americanized German whose Krupp-Thyssen father had sent him to America as a child, now teaches philosophy at Harvard. He visits Germany at his mother's request to sign some papers relating to the family business. His father was killed fifteen years before in an air raid, and his uncle has married his mother. John suspects foul play, and with the aid of a friend (an English secret service man), he investigates the death. Also resident in the large Claudius house are the old family doctor, named Pohl, his mentally delicate daughter, Fee, and his son who is an ex-Nazi. The story ends with Fee deranged but with John's father's murder proved and avenged.

The summary may make the picture sound like a Mask and Wig Club parody, but it is saved from burlesque because Kautner has not been content to mimic outward form, he has borne down intensely on the use of the form. The result is a provocative film which exploits the atmosphere of quick new wealth amidst the bomb rubble, of swift reversal of economic and political fortunes in this recently barbaric country that is rejoining the society of relatively civilized nations and doesn't quite know what to do about its immediate past.

If one may cite a joke apropos the most staggering tragedy in history, the present West German moral situation is something like the scene in a show called *Jumbo* in which Jimmy Durante, who worked for a circus, was stealing an elephant from another circus, leading it away on a rope. A policeman stopped him and asked: "Where are you going with that elephant?" Jimmy replied: "What elephant?"

"What Nazis?" asks present-day Germany. To judge by their recent films, the Germans are a group of people – just folks – who were invaded by a group of Martians called Nazis who, fortunately, have since disappeared. Oh, of course some Germans were affected by them, but they are easy to discern because they are all nasty. In this film John sees newsreel shots of his father and his uncle kow-towing to Hitler. He knows at once that his (wretched) uncle was doing it by choice and that his (admirable) father must have been under duress.

Kautner and other German film directors are seeking to make moral statements about their country, and one must be impressed by the poignancy of their concern. Yet of those pictures I have seen, none has faced the primary fact: the majority of Germans and Austrians did not merely submit to Nazism, they embraced it and were able either to support its cruelties or to ignore them.

Thus the ultimate weakness of this picture's comment is that it has no base. Its anti-Nazi view is stated by a character who was nice and safe in America during the crucial days, and its only admitted ex-Nazi (the Laertes character) is made to seem only a young hothead now cooled. As yet we have had no film that attempts to portray the whole historical, economic, psychological impulse towards Nazism, that deals with the state of mind of those millions of Germans who must regard themselves as "decent" human beings and yet remember clearly what they were once happily part of.

As to performances in this film, Hardy Kruger is adequate as John, Adelheid Seeck is striking as his mother, Rudolph Forster is pleasant as Pohl, and Ingrid Andree as Fee is affecting in a part that could easily have been affected. Peter Van Eyck is precisely right as the uncle; he has the real and rare Claudius quality: power plus corruption plus sex appeal. As director, Helmut Kautner has a few mannerisms that he over-uses, but he has a good sense of the camera as the journeyer through a story.

That same Rudolph Forster who is Polonius above is now on view as Mack the Knife in G. W. Pabst's film of *The Threepenny Opera* made 30 years ago. Thomas Brandon, the American distributor, went to enormous trouble to assemble a complete print after the negative and all prints in Germany had been destroyed by the Nazis, and we must be grateful to him for reconstructing a film of some historical value. But of little more. One is almost tempted here to review the critics rather than the film, for the revival has provided a perfect instance of the sententious nonsense that can get written about a picture if only it is a) old enough and b) foreign. Influenced perhaps by Pabst's reputation and the dramatic circumstances of the picture's suppression and salvage, various voices have declared that a masterpiece has been restored to us. To this simple barefoot viewer, it was a choppy, stilted, murky picture, done in watered-down Caligaresque sets, full of prolonged hypnotic and hypnotized

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

glances and shabby Keystone comedy. Lotte Lenya is welcome in the part that was written for her, but the picture is generally atrociously acted. The original work's chief strength is its marvelous score; few reviewers have mentioned that many (most?) of the songs have been omitted from the picture.

Under the US-Soviet film exchange program we can now see a recent Russian version of Dostoevsky's *The Idiot*. It runs well over two hours and deals only with the first third of the novel; another film is to finish the story.

This installment is an album of old-fashioned staginess. Character actors prove that they are lifelike by entering yawning, with hair mussed, scratching their bellies. Actresses stride upstage so that they may wheel and thunder denunciations at the hapless actors downstage. In fact one gets the impression that the picture is over-stuffed with acting; enough for three or four films has been crammed into one.

Here once more is demonstrated the difficulty of translating thick-textured novels into films; what we are left with is surface action, snippets of "philosophy," and a sense of estrangement from the book. I await the second installment with ill-concealed patience.

Stanley Kauffmann

ART

Notes on Art and Artifakes

The French used to say that in his lifetime Corot painted 3,000 pictures, of which 8,000 were in the United States.

Not too long ago a specialist in American painting of the Old West saw and admired a competent work apparently by a minor documentarian of the great plains; a week later a collector asked his advice on a newly available Remington; it was the same picture, with Remington's signature added, very legibly, in one corner. The specialist advised against the purchase; the following week he dropped in at the gallery and found the picture restored to its devalued anonymity.

At about the same time one of our bigger-think national business magazines was putting together a routine piece of get-rich-quick hagiography. The subject was interesting not only for his personal variations on the theme of moving an awful lot of heavy machinery in a hurry, but also for a faintly exotic European background involving membership in a branch of one of the better-known families of international finance. The European check-points, it turned out, had all been destroyed or scattered by World War II. But as implied solid evidence there was a midwestern mansion, recently acquired, full of Old-Master-type paintings. The range was from the Flemish 15th Century to the French 18th with plenty of Italian in between. There was a certain oddness about the whole show. The big pictures were by small names. The big names were represented by small pictures, oil sketches and pictures by sons or brothers of the big names. There was a small Rembrandt sketch, which presumably had never left the family, but which was the stroke by stroke duplicate of a possible attribution that had been in a Rembrandt-and-his-Followers show some years earlier, lent by a dealer. All the pictures were in first-class physical condition. There was a single contemporary work, a small sculpture which turned out to be the product of Museum Reproductions, a reputable firm which does a good job of making reproductions. Finally, all the readily available photos and even some more readily available papers on the pictures were connected one way or another with the same relatively unknown New York gallery, specializing in, as they say, fine paintings, objets d'art, curiosa and rare books.

The magazine printed its piece with no reference at all to the art angle, thus showing great prudence. There are two basic possible explanations of the collection. The first is that everything was on the level and exactly what it was represented to be; this hypothesis was discarded by everyone who came in contact with the story. The other is that the collection was faked, the pictures either painted on order in a loft maintained by the gallery, or, more likely, merely "improved upon" both in the process of restoration and especially in the process of attribution.

Accepting the second hypothesis, the existence of such a collection of fakes has itself two explanations. One is that the businessman had been gulled and paid the full market value the pictures would have had if real. If this happened in this case it would be the first time in a rapid and brilliant career of selling that the man was on the wrong end of a queer sale. The other explanation is that he knew very well – that he was buying questionable merchandise. The price was settled on with this in mind. It was lower, much lower, than equivalent genuine stuff would fetch at auction; but it was appreciably higher than the intrinsic art-value of the works, if there is such a thing and it can be translated into cash on some ground other than what the market will bear. The point is more than the old W. C. Fields dictum, You Can't Cheat an Honest Man. Neither buyer nor seller was cheated. The seller obviously got more than he paid for the pictures and much more than they were worth. But the buyer got more, too. In terms of culturally upstaging his unpretentious peers in a very unglamorous industry and in terms also, perhaps, of beginning the inevitable transformation from go-getting ugly-duckling to industrial statesman, he clearly got a bigger bang for his buck by buying artifakes than he could ever have got from art.

Fakes and forgeries in art have a metaphysical aspect as well as a very strong financial one. All the questions raised and left unanswered by this century's central European and Mediterranean dramas of identity were raised again by

Notes on Contributors

William Cole *is the editor of thirteen anthologies of cartoons, poems, and works of wit. He is also the publicity director of a major New York publishing firm just off Madison Avenue.* Barry Spacks *teaches in the Humanities Department at MIT.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the confession, trial and death of the century's best known – if, for obvious reasons, not most successful – art forger. Once the occupied countries of Europe got themselves unoccupied, they set about bringing to trial those accused of collaboration with the occupiers. In the course of this process, itself fraught with questions of identity on both the financial and metaphysical levels, a very minor Dutch painter was had up. Never much of a success as an artist, Hans van Meegeren had turned dealer. As such he was charged with treason for having sold a national treasure, a painting by Vermeer, to Hermann Göring, when Fatso was undercutting his boss for possession of the world's masterpieces.

Van Meegeren's defense was simple. He hadn't sold a national treasure, but on the contrary had struck a blow at the enemy's resources by selling Göring, for a quarter of a million bucks, a genuine van Meegeren, painted by himself, which happened to be indistinguishable from Vermeer's style. Expert testimony was brought in to establish that what van Meegeren claimed to have done couldn't be done. Calling for paint and canvas, van Meegeren, in jail, painted another picture. It was his last Vermeer. Acquitted of treason, he drew a year for fraud and died of a heart attack.

A friend of mine owns a Rembrandt painted by van Meegeren. He bought it for what it is, I hasten to add, and, in charity to his friends, leaves it lying about the house, unframed, on a desk or table. Curiosa? Yes, but the little, dark and glowing sketch, a *Christ Preaching*, really does have some of the Rembrandt quality. The light does glow impossibly in the darkness and the figures do emerge, somehow, from the play between glow and gleam. If sold as a Rembrandt at a Rembrandt price, the piece would be a fraud. But as it is? What do you buy when you buy a picture? Just that, or also a piece of the artist? Or are the two really indistinguishable?

The school that's taken the total identity of painter and painting the farthest is Abstract Expressionism. The prices are fearfully high, but they say the Japanese are producing the same paintings, complete with inimitable personal mannerisms, at a tenth of the price.

FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

Quotation Mongering

Sirs:

Abraham Brumberg's admirable essay on "Quotation Mongering" (issue of August 29) calls attention to a mendacious and self-deceptive practice which seems to be increasing even among our more responsible political leaders and scholars. I believe it worth recalling that the fictitious quotation from Lenin which Governor Rockefeller (who got it from Adolf A. Berle, Jr., who got it from Claude Meyer, etc.) used at the New York Republican Club on July 12 is simply a paraphrase of a much older document.

The original included the passage: "In our arsenal we carry a boundless ambition, burning avidity, a ruthless thirst for revenge, relentless hatred. From us emanates the specter of fear, all-embracing terror. . . . By envy and hatred, by struggle and warfare . . . we shall bring all peoples to such a pass that their only escape will lie in total submission to our domination."

This passage was originally written by a French lawyer, Maurice Joly, in an anti-Masonic and anti-Bonapartist satirical pamphlet published in Brussels in 1864 under the titled of *A Dialogue in Hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*. A comparable source, including some of the same phraseology, was John Retcliff's novel, *Biarritz* (1868). A further version, with appropriate changes of names, appeared in Moscow in 1905 from the pen of Hergei Nilus, aided by the Tsarist *Okhrana*, under the title of *The Great in the Little* or *Antichrist as an Immediate Political Possibility*. These words, from which the Governor's quotation was almost literally borrowed, were later widely distributed over the world under the title of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Frederick L. Schuman
Williams College
Williamstown, Mass.

Sirs:

Abraham Brumberg has dealt properly with fake quotations attributed to Communists. I suggest that liberals should also take heed, and stop quoting Charles Wilson as saying "What's good for General Motors is good for the country." He never said it. What he said was "What's good for the country is good for General Motors, and vice versa." That terminal "vice versa" has been expanded into the familiar phrase for which Wilson has been crucified, although he might as easily have meant ". . . and what's bad for the country is bad for General Motors." And even if he meant it as commonly quoted, the offensiveness of it is removed by that much-neglected first clause.

Wilson's trouble was that his statements were too clear and aphoristic. Suppose he had said: "An enterprise as large, complex, and diversified as General Motors is inextricably bound up with the general welfare of the nation, so that occurrences which benefit the economy as a whole will also redound to the benefit of General Motors, and conversely, that which leads to the greater growth and health for General Motors must inevitably, because of the multifarious ramifications of General Motors and its seminal position in the economy, favorably affect the general prosperity of the country." I would gamble that never a protest would have been heard.

George W. Price
Chicago, Ill.

The Vanishing Newscast

Sirs:

Saul Halpert's "The Vanishing Newscast" (August 29) had special appeal for us at the AFL-CIO. It was an exceptionally well done analysis of news on the air, but completely negative. Why not some mention of those newsmen who are doing a good job? For instance, Edward P. Morgan.

We at the AFL-CIO consider Morgan the best newsman on the air, a man with a long background in the news field both here and abroad, a man with a keen analytical ability and a gift for bright, clear expression. We are proud of the many awards that he has won, and the fact that the Peabody citation said: "Notable is the circumstance that the AFL-CIO as sponsors, bring this public service to the radio audience without any suggestion of pleading or propaganda."

Harry W. Flannery,
Washington, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The IQ Test as a Raw Deal

Sirs:

In connection with your thoughtful note on the limitations of the IQ tests, (September 12), may I add one or two additional causes for concern, and a small ray of hope?

In the lower grades, the use of intelligence and aptitude tests may have the effect of perpetuating segregation in city schools for Negroes, Puerto Ricans, (and even white Appalachian migrants) whose pre-school backgrounds have not developed the abilities measured by the tests. We lose talent by this process, but we also breed school dropouts, potential delinquents, and adults unqualified to enter a labor market that is increasingly skewed towards skilled employment.

At the other end of the scale . . . our colleges are losing some of their best material by screening out not only those with less developed abilities, but also students who may be poor academic risks for non-academic reasons. These careful colleges not only lose talent, but tend to foster an atmosphere that keeps talent within bounds and deprives their students of the openness to experience that is the essence of a college education.

My hopeful note comes from the experiment begun at Junior High School 43 in New York City (and now extended to other schools) in which aptitude and performance have been substantially increased in a group of badly disadvantaged children, not by coaching them for the Scholastic Aptitude Test, but by exposing them to a wide range of curricular and extra-curricular experiences from off-Broadway Shakespeare to a college football game.

Adam Yarmolinsky
Washington, D. C.

Polls and Propaganda

Sirs:

In this highly important Presidential election, how are the issues being presented to the voters?

Newspapers and radio-TV networks seem to feel the way to prepare the voter is not by educating him on the differences between the candidates, but informing him daily on how other voters feel about the candidates and the campaign. This is a clever method of feeding the ignorance and prejudices of one small group of voters to the rest of the country.

How does this "polling the people" help the voter, be he diligent or indolent, in making intelligent decisions?

Is it too late to hope that this year a newspaper or radio-TV chain would assign its hired brains to interviewing experts in the fields at issue: defense, farm economics, Latin-American relations, *et alia?*

By careful deployment of manpower, aligned with patient probing, a series of questions could be explored, interestingly and informatively. A few come readily to mind:

Despite Mr. Eisenhower's popularity, the eight years of his Administration have left much to be desired. His Administration has not been the dynamic, clear minded, business-like Administration we were promised in 1952.

A. Would an Administration headed by Mr. Nixon be of the same kind? Why?

B. It is assumed a Kennedy Administration would be unlike the Eisenhower years. How? Why?

2. Despite Mr. Eisenhower's worldwide esteem he has had great difficulty in obtaining good men to fill top jobs and the highly important though not as glamorous second echelon positions.

A. What guarantee is there that Nixon could obtain better? Who would fill key posts under Nixon?

B. Would Kennedy attract good men? Who?

3. Odds favor a Democratic Senate and Democratic House, regardless of who wins the Presidency. This would be a great problem should Nixon win.

A. What would be the relationship between "President" Nixon and Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson? Between "President" Nixon and Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn?

B. What would be the relationship between "President" Kennedy and Majority Leader Mike Mansfield? Between Kennedy and Rayburn?

C. How important is the Executive-Legislative relationship?

This list could be expanded easily; thus assuring the interested voter a better understanding of the issues and the candidates.

Joseph F. McCaffrey
McLean, Virginia

JOBS ABROAD

For teachers, writers, librarians, translators, stenographers and administrators. Top salaries paid by American and foreign companies, governmental and international organizations. How, when and where to apply, $2.00. Money-back guarantee. Included free, "Student Opportunities Abroad." M. Dorf, 186 Covington Lane, Woodbury, N. J.

"L'EXPRESS"
The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 10¢ for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
Dept. SB,
173 Third Avenue
New York 3

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING"
Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder.
Fascinating, educational. Details free.
Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS
Name the book—we'll find it for you! All subjects—no obligation to buy. Write Books-On-File. Dept. NR, Union City, New Jersey.

Use NIX-ON-DICK gummed labels on correspondence. 500 eye-catching labels for $1.00.
NIX-ON-DICK
3577 Lugo Avenue,
San Bernandino,
Calif.

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS
Economical, insured moving and storage vans, wagons—NYC, resorts, long distance
AL 5-8343
The Padded Wagon, Inc. New York, N. Y.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Unconditional money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

COLLECTOR'S ITEM
Limited, L.P. Record. Adlai Stevenson's speech on Jesse Fell-Lincoln at Madison Civil War Round Table. $3.95 prepaid.
STEVENSON RECORD
111 W. MAIN STREET MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

REPRESENTATIVE WANTED in your territory. From your desk you can earn a substantial addition to your income. Only written contacts with your clients! Write for particulars and further details to VKK-Office, Vienna 66, P. O. B. 128, Austria.

BOOKS FOUND
THROUGH WORLD-WIDE CONTACTS
BOOK LAND
Box 74561K Los Angeles 4, Calif.

EUROPE
We'll see the usual plus Russia, Scandinavia, Yugoslavia & N. Africa. A different trip—for the young in spirit who don't want to be herded around. Also shorter trips. Budget priced.
EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Box N — Pasadena, California

Printed by National Publishing Co., 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER *half price*

Only $2.50 for 20 issues

THE MAGAZINE THAT IS READ BY THE BEST-INFORMED PEOPLE IN AMERICA

In this important election year, you'll want to read the magazine that Washington finds indispensable.

- *From the Executive to the Congress*
- *In the Pentagon*
- *By government officials and in foreign embassies*
- *The Reporter is read for information that cannot be found elsewhere. (In fact, 25 Reporter articles were placed in the Congressional Record last year.)*

A sampling of The Reporter's readers shows that 6 of the 7 original Presidential aspirants read the magazine and commend it, while 32 Senators are regular subscribers.

THE REPORTER HAS WON 18 MAJOR AWARDS AND MADE JOURNALISTIC HISTORY IN ALMOST EVERY FIELD

For repeatedly being first to dig out and publish news stories of prime importance. The Reporter has already won 18 major journalism awards. Reflecting the comprehensiveness of The Reporter's coverage, these awards were given for

"best magazine reporting of foreign affairs" ■ "distinguished public service" in publishing the first full study of atomic fall-out in the U.S. ■ "consistently penetrating critical comment on television and radio programs" ■ a pioneering study of public relations' influence on government ■ a report on the use and abuses of the lie-detector in government ■ a report on wire-tapping in government and business ■ a case study of an innocent "security risk" victim ■ a report on the power politics of Texas millionaires

LESS THAN A PENNY A DAY . . . is all it costs to enjoy 20 issues (40 weeks) of the most provocative news magazine in America. So start your half-price subscription to The Reporter with the very next issue.

AMONG THE WRITERS FOR THE REPORTER

Max Ascoli	**Dean Acheson**
John Kenneth Galbraith	**General Thomas R. Phillips**
Robert Ardrey	**Henry A. Kissinger**
Santha Rama Rau	**John Cheever**
Alfred Kazin	**Robert Bendiner**
Isaac Deutscher	**A. A. Berle, Jr.**
Marya Mannes	**Douglass Cater**

READ IT WHEN YOU NEED IT—IN THE REPORTER! MAIL THIS COUPON NOW!

THE REPORTER **Dept. NR**
660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

Please enter my half-price subscription to The Reporter for 20 issues (40 weeks) and bill me for $2.50.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED